[Great Horde]

595 Despite the frequent reference in these rules of plural wives, the Kazakh household was normally monogamous; polygyny was practiced only when a man was rich enough to afford it, or if the first wife was childless, specifically, without sons, which was reckoned the greatest misfortune to a household.[124] While in Grodekov's version of the rules, the practice of the levirate was possible on widowhood, the custom is put more strongly by Radlov who proposes that its occurrence was virtually automatic on the death of the husband.[125]

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When the rich Kazakh acquired many wives, he set them up in separate tents, usually in different encampments, and spent part of the year in each locality, hoping thus, apparently, to avoid trouble. If the wives lived in the same encampment, it was the eldest wife who alone was the mistress of the combined households, and the younger wife was in a miserable position. Nevertheless, in terms of the general context of Islam, polygyny was rare.[126]

619 While there were yet Kalmuks in the vicinity of
●58 the Kazakhs, at the beginning of the century, there were not a few intermarriages between the two groups. The Kazakh did not oblige the Kalmuk wife to change her

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[124] Radloff, op. cit., I, 484; Izrastsov, 70.

[125] Radloff, op. cit., I, 484-5.

[126] Ibid., 484.

[Great Horde]

49 lmaist faith for Islam. But where a marriage took place
•58 between the two groups, the same rules obtained, covering
the taboo on sororal polygyny, etc., as among the Kazakhs
[587] themselves. At that earlier time, the 1830's, on the
death of a man, the brother who survived him had the
right to marry one of the wives of the deceased.[127] In
these earlier rules, or version of the same rules, the
levirate was not automatic, but optional, a formulation
which is stronger than Grodekov, but weaker than Radlov.

583 The marriage arrangements were centered around the
payment of the kalym or bridewealth by the family of the
groom to the father of the bride. The payment of the
bridewealth is the one irrecusable obligation of the
father to the son; the son cannot be deprived of this,
even with the worst of wills on the part of the father.
It is the family of the groom which contributes to the
kalym, moreover, and not merely the father. In a word,
it is the groom's cognatic kin, and not his agnatic kin
alone, who support him in this burden: his father, his
brothers, his father's brothers--his agnatic kinsmen--
and also his mother's brother.

The marriage arrangements were opened by an exchange
of pact-binding gifts between representatives of the
groom and those of the bride, followed by a discussion

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[127] Levchine, op. cit., 364.

-457-

[Middle Horde]

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[246] Unlike the Great Horde, the Middle Horde had no traces of any dual organization in its major divisions. Instead, it was divided directly into six clan federations: the Argyn, the Kipchak, the Kongrad, the Naiman, the Kirei, and the Uwak.[167] That these federations bore distinctive names is of interest, that these names are archaic is even more so. Four of these names have a great historical tradition, occurring both in the ancient Turkic records and in the Secret History of the Mongols; these are: the Kipchak, the Kongrad, the Naiman and the Kirei or Kereit. Another tie with the Mongol steppe, the historical scene of both Orkhon texts and the Secret History, is in the name Argyn; there is an Argun River in northwestern Manchuria, forming the border with Siberia.

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[177] The Middle Horde Kazakhs of the 1820's had not yet come under Russian cultural influence to any significant extent. Yet even at this time, the practice of polygyny was restricted to the wealthy families: a rich Kazakh might have from three to five wives, while a poor Kazakh had but one. Infant betrothal was practiced, while marriage took place at age twenty at the latest. On marriage the father outfitted the son with one or more tents, livestock, clothing, felts, according to his means; for then the son became of age. But the relationship was a

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[167] Valikhanov, 162; Aristov, Zametki, 350. Radloff, Aus Sibirien, I, 326, mentions only five of these federations, omitting the Uwak.

[Middle Horde]

58 reciprocal one; on coming of age, the son could make no more demands on the father; the allotment made was at the same time a quittance of further obligation.

428 A distinction was made between the inheritance of real property and the transmission of such intangibles as authority. The father was the absolute lord in his family, and his authority passed, in accordance with the principle of primogeniture, to the eldest son, or lacking a son, to a brother of the deceased. Related families were gathered into villages, aul, and a village elder, or bii, generally had a position of influence in public affairs, and a limited amount of authority in intra-family matters. Thus there was a limitation on the paternal power.

622 [428] The leadership of a sub-lineage, a village, or a family, passed in the direct line through the eldest sons.[168] The status of bii some decades later, in the 1860's, is described as quasi-hereditary, and a case is cited by Valikhanov in which it remained in one family through four generations.[169] The office later came to be appointive, and only quasi-hereditary.

695 682 584 Among these Kazakhs of the Middle Horde, one means of settling disputes is reported as having especial promi-

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[168] von Lebedour, II, 459-461.

[169] Valikhanov, 162.

[Soviet Era]

Soviet era. The Orkhon and Yenisei Turks of that early time likewise distinguished between the husband's estate and the dowry of the wife such that the husband could seize it only in payment of a fine; short of such a contingency, the dotal property was in a separate category.

Betrothals were arranged while the children were not yet of age, subject to the supreme authority of the family head. The junior levirate not infrequently caused a boy of eight or nine years to be married to a mature woman. On the other hand, girls might be married before puberty.[290] A wife on taking up residence in her Hu Fa gul underwent a change in status symbolized by a new soubriquet which generally signified whether she was pretty, clever, sympathetic, etc.[291] The new name thus emphasized the discontinuity in her social being, but at the same time appears to have been oriented toward positive or praiseworthy attributes in a woman.

The inheritance complex involving primogeniture, equitable apportionment and ultimogeniture continued in force. Thus paternal authority passed in the line of the eldest sons, and with it as a rule the totality of the incorporeal property, in such titles, ranks, honors, prestige as the Soviet era still permitted.

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[290] Ibid., 48.

[291] Ibid., 59.